

CIA/OCI/BRIEF 099-75
27 JUNE 1975

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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 099-75.4

1. INDIA: PRIME MINISTER GANDHI'S CRACKDOWN ON THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION ON WEDNESDAY OPENS A NEW PHASE IN HER FIGHT TO STAY IN OFFICE. THUS FAR, THE PROCLAMATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY HAS RESULTED IN NO SIGNIFICANT DISTURBANCES IN POLITICALLY VOLATILE URBAN AREAS.

MRS. GANDHI'S IMMEDIATE AIM IN ARRESTING KEY OPPOSITION FIGURES AND CENSORING BOTH THE DOMESTIC PRESS AND FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS IS TO HEAD OFF A NATIONWIDE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT. NUMEROUS OPPOSITION PARTIES HAD SCHEDULED SUCH A MOVEMENT TO BEGIN NEXT WEEK. UNTIL WEDNESDAY MRS. GANDHI HAD FOR OVER A YEAR CAREFULLY AVOIDED TAKING DRASTIC MEASURES AGAINST THE OPPOSITION, SUCH AS HER FOREMOST CRITIC, J. P. NARAYAN, WHO WAS AMONG THE HUNDREDS JAILED.

TO CARRY OFF HER LATEST MOVE, MRS. GANDHI NEEDS THE BACKING OF HER RULING CONGRESS PARTY. SO FAR, WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE THAT SUPPORT HAS DWINDLED BY A SIGNIFICANT DEGREE. MRS. GANDHI'S MOST LIKELY SUCCESSORS, AGRICULTURE MINISTER RAM OR FINANCE

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MINISTER CHAVAN, ARE STILL GIVING HER STRONG PUBLIC SUPPORT.
 ON WEDNESDAY SIX LONG-STANDING CONGRESS PARTY MAVERICKS IN
 PARLIAMENT WERE SUSPENDED FROM THE PARTY AND SEVERAL WERE ARRESTED.
 THE CONGRESS LEADERSHIP IS IN NO MOOD TO TOLERATE OPEN DISSENT
 WITHIN THE RANKS.Y

LEADERS OF THE ARMED FORCES REPORTEDLY WERE NOT FOREWARNED
 ABOUT THE EMERGENCY PROCLAMATION. THE MILITARY IS RELUCTANT TO
 INTERVENE IN CIVIL DISORDERS, AND MRS. GANDHI PROBABLY DOES NOT
 ANTICIPATE CALLING ON THE ARMY TO ASSIST IN MAINTAINING PUBLIC
 ORDER UNLESS THE SITUATION DETERIORATES DRASTICALLY. POLICE
 AND PARAMILITARY FORCES HAVE EXPANDED CONSIDERABLY IN THE LAST
 FEW YEARS, AND THEY PROBABLY CAN CONTROL ANY PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS
 THAT RESULT FROM THE CRACKDOWN.Y

IT APPEARS UNLIKELY THAT MRS. GANDHI WILL RECONVENE
 PARLIAMENT IN JULY FOR ITS USUAL SUMMER SESSION. SHE MUST, HOWEVER,
 UNDER THE TERMS OF INDIAN LAW, GAIN APPROVAL OF THE EMERGENCY
 PROCLAMATION BY BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT WITHIN TWO MONTHS-I.E.,
 BY LATE AUGUST-OR THE PROCLAMATION WILL EXPIRE. UNCONVEIVABLY,

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MRS. GANDHI MIGHT STRETCH THIS TIMETABLE BY DISSOLVING PARLIAMENT AND CALLING FOR A NEW ELECTION, WHICH NEED NOT BE HELD FOR SIX MONTHS. THIS WOULD GIVE HER TIME TO REPAIR HER REPUTATION WITHIN THE PARTY AND THROUGH THE NATION. IN A SPEECH TO THE NATION WEDNESDAY, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID SHE WOULD SOON BE TAKING FURTHER MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN THE ECONOMY AND REMOVE THE HARDSHIPS NOW BEING VISITED UPON MANY INDIANS.4

THE SUPREME COURT IS EXPECTED TO BEGIN ITS REVIEW OF MRS. GANDHI'S APPEAL OF A LOWER COURT CONVICTION FOR CAMPAIGN VIOLATIONS SHORTLY AFTER JULY 14. A JUDGMENT MIGHT BE ISSUED LONG BEFORE AN ELECTION COULD BE HELD. THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT, DESPITE THE EXTENSIVE POWERS GRANTED IT UNDER THE NEW EMERGENCY PROCLAMATION, CANNOT BLOCK THE SUPREME COURT'S CONSIDERATION OF THE APPEAL. (CONFIDENTIAL)44

ARMED CLASHES BETWEEN LEBANESE AND FEDAYEEN RADICALS AND LEBANESE SECURITY FORCES RESUMED IN BEIRUT ON TUESDAY AFTER THREE WEEKS OF RELATIVE CALM. THE RIGHT-WING PHALANGES PARTY HAS SO FAR NOT BECOME HEAVILY INVOLVED IN

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THE FIGHTING, WHICH HAS LEFT DEAD AT LEAST 45.4

A CEASE-FIRE NEGOTIATED ON JUNE 25 HAS BEEN GENERALLY RESPECTED BY THE MAJOR LEBANESE POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE LARGE FEDAYEEN GROUPS.4 IT HAS BEEN DISREGARDED, HOWEVER, BY LEBANESE AND FEDAYEEN RADICALS, THE SAME GROUPS THAT PLAYED A CENTRAL ROLE IN THE FIGHTING DURING APRIL AND MAY.4

PHALANGIST LEADERS HAVE CHARGED THAT "EXTREME LEFTISTS" BACKED BY LIBYA INTENSIFIED THE FIGHTING THIS WEEK IN HOPES OF PROVOKING GENERAL HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE PHALANGISTS AND THE PALESTINIANS. THE PHALANGISTS HAVE ABSOLVED FATAH, THE LARGEST FEDAYEEN ORGANIZATION, OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CURRENT CLASHES.4

LEBANESE OFFICIALS ~~REDACTED~~ HAVE SAID PRIVATELY THAT FATAH UNITS HAVE IN FACT BEEN FIGHTING WITH THE SECURITY SERVICES AGAINST FEDAYEEN FROM THE "REJECTION FRONT." IF TRUE, THIS WOULD CONFIRM THAT FATAH CHIEF YASIR ARAFAT SEES THE RADICALS' ACTIONS AS A THREAT TO HIM, AS WELL AS TO LEBANON, AND THAT HE IS NOW WILLING TO TAKE MORE FORCEFUL STEPS THAN BEFORE IN ATTEMPTING TO CONTROL THE SMALL FEDAYEEN ORGANIZATIONS.4

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IN AN UNPRECEDENTED MOVE TO DISSOCIATE FATAH AND THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION FROM THE VIOLENCE, ARAFAT APPEARED ON LEBANESE TELEVISION AND RADIO ON JUNE 25 TO 'APPEAL TO "LEBANESE AND PALESTINIANS TO LIVE TOGETHER IN HARMONY." HE SAID HE HAD REACHED AGREEMENT WITH PRESIDENT FRANJIYAH THAT THE PALESTINIANS WOULD RESPECT LEBANESE SOVEREIGNTY AND THAT LEBANON, IN TURN, WOULD RESPECT THE PALESTINIANS' RIGHT TO EXIST IN LEBANON.4

THE MARXIST-ORIENTED POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE—THE LARGEST OF THE RADICAL FEDAYEEN GROUPS—HAS DENOUNCED ARAFAT'S CALL FOR A CEASE-FIRE AND HAS ACCUSED HIM OF ABANDONING THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE.4

THE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN ARAFAT AND FRANJIYAH IS A REAFFIRMATION OF FORMAL AGREEMENTS NEGOTIATED BETWEEN THE LEBANESE AND THE FEDAYEEN IN 1969 AND 1973. IT WAS REACHED AT A MEETING BETWEEN ARAFAT AND FRANJIYAH ON JUNE 23—THEIR FIRST IN OVER A MONTH.4

ARAFAT, WHO HAS PREFERRED TO STAY ON THE SIDELINES DURING THE PRESENT ROUND OF TROUBLES, WAS URGED TO MEET WITH

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FRANJIAH BY EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT SADAT. SADAT HAS RECENTLY BEEN CALLING ON ALL SIDES TO MAKE THE CONCESSIONS NECESSARY TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT. IN A PRESS INTERVIEW ON WEDNESDAY, THE EGYPTIAN LEADER INDIRECTLY CRITICIZED THE PALESTINIANS BY SUGGESTING THAT "ELEMENTS THAT ENCROACH ON THE SOVEREIGNTY OF LEBANON" MUST BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COUNTRY'S DIFFICULTIES. [CONFIDENTIAL]

3. / USSR-SYRIA: SOVIET PARTY SECRETARY PONOMAREV'S VISIT TO SYRIA, WHICH ENDED WEDNESDAY, MAY HAVE BEEN RELATED TO SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KHADDAM'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON LAST WEEK. PONOMAREV PLAYS AN ACTIVE ROLE IN SOVIET MIDDLE EAST MATTERS, AND HIS VISIT COULD HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO BUCK UP SYRIAN RESISTANCE TO WASHINGTON, AS WELL AS TO OBTAIN A READING ON KHADDAM'S CONVERSATIONS WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER. ALTHOUGH PONOMAREV WAS OBSTENSIBLY IN SYRIA ONLY TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION WITH THE BAATH PARTY, THE PRESENCE OF THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE TO THE GENEVA MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE INDICATES THAT BROADER POLITICAL ISSUES WERE ALSO DISCUSSED. //4

//PONOMAREV SEEMED DEFENSIVE ABOUT THE IMPACT ON US-SOVIET

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DETENTE ON MOSCOW'S RELATIONS WITH THE ARABS. IN AN ADDRESS, OVER SYRIAN TELEVISION, HE ARGUED THAT DETENTE WAS NOT IN-CONSISTENT WITH MOSCOW'S SUPPORT FOR SYRIA AND THE ARABS, BUT INSTEAD SHOULD BE VIEWED AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE "STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM."//4

//IN RECENT WEEKS, THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER USGGESTIONS THAT SOVBIET-SYRIAN RELATIONS ARE TROUBLED. THE SOVIETS PROBABLY SHARE THE CONCERN OF SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CHIEF BAKDASH REGARDING CRITICISM OF SYRIA'S RECENT GRANT OF OFFSHORE OIL-PROSPECTING RIGHTS TO A US COMPANY. THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT COMMENTED ON THIS THEMSELVES, BUT THEY PRESUMABLY FEAR THAT IT COULD LEAD TO FURTHER SYRIAN ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION AND TO INCREASED ECONOMIC DEALINGS WITH THE WEST. IN ADDITION, THE ACTION UNDERCUTS THE MONOPOLY THE SOVIETS AND THEIR EAST EUROPEAN ALLIES HAVE HERETOFORE HAD ON OIL EXPLORATION IN SYRIA.//4

PONOMAREV APPARENTLY DID NOT HAVE GREAT SUCCESS IN SOOTHING THE SYRIANS. HE SPENT MOST OF HIS TIME WITH SECONDARY FIGURES, MEETING ONLY ONCE WITH ASAD, AND HIS VISIT RECEIVED LITTLE

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ATTENTION FROM THE SYRIAN PRESS. A SOVIET COMMENTATOR CHARACTERIZED THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE TRIP AS ONE OF "FRANKNESS AND CORDIAL UNDERSTANDING"--A EUPHEMISM FOR TOUGH TALK. WHATEVER THEIR CURRENT DIFFERENCES, IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT MOSCOW AND SYRIA WILL LET THEIR RELATIONS BECOME SEVERELY STRAINED BECAUSE EACH NEEDS THE OTHER TOO MUCH. [CONFIDENTIAL] 2/10/74

4. SPANISH SAHARA: RELATIONS BETWEEN ALGERIA AND MOROCCO HAVE BECOME FURTHER STRAINED OVER THE SPANISH SAHARA ISSUE. THE FRICTION IS COMPLICATING SPAIN'S EFFORTS TO ARRANGE QUADRIPARTITE TALKS WITH MOROCCO, MAURITANIA, AND ALGERIA TO DISCUSS THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY.4

IN A RECENT SPEECH, ALGERIAN PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENE REITERATED HIS SUPPORT FOR SELF-DETERMINATION FOR SPANISH SAHARA AND CHALLENGED MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA TO ADMIT PUBLICLY THEIR INTENTIONS TO ANNEX OR PARTITION THE TERRITORY. HIS POINTED REMINDER THAT ALGIERS IS NOW "THE MECCA OF REVOLUTIONARIES" WAS PROBABLY A WARNING TO RABAT THAT THERE ARE STILL MOROCCAN DISSIDENTS RESIDING IN ALGERIA.4

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BOUMEDIENE'S REMARKS PRODUCED SHARP CRITICISM IN RABAT. THE SEMIOFFICIAL AND OPPOSITION PRESS BOTH CONDEMNED BOUMEDIENE FOR INTERFERING IN "PURELY MOROCCAN-MAURITANIAN AFFAIRS."4

RABAT ALSO REJECTED ALGERIA'S RECENT INVITATION TO MOROCCAN AND MAURITANIAN POLITICAL PARTIES FOR TALKS IN ALGIERS ON SPANISH SAHARA. THE MOROCCANS VIEW THE INVITATION AS AN ATTEMPT TO OUTMANEUVER KING HASSAN BY SPLITTING THE PALACE AND THE OPPOSITION PARTIES ON THE SAHARA QUESTION. AS A RESULT, MOROCCO WILL BE MORE OPPOSED THAN EVER TO ALGERIA'S INCLUSION IN ANY NEGOTIATIONS ON SPANISH SAHARA.4

MEANWHILE, MOROCCO'S CONTINUING MILITARY PROBES INTO SPANISH SAHARA, DESIGNED TO INCREASE PRESSURE ON MADRID TO NEGOTIATE WITH RABAT, MAY INSTEAD PROVOKE A HARSH SPANISH REACTION. FIVE SPANISH SOLDIERS WERE KILLED ON JUNE 24 WHEN THEIR VEHICLE HIT AN ANTITANK MINE IN THE VICINITY OF AN EARLIER MOROCCAN INCURSION IN NORTHWESTERN SPANISH SAHARA. THE NEXT DAY, ACCORDING TO THE SPANISH PRESS, TWO SPANISH AIR FORCE PLANES FLYING A RECONNAISSANCE MISSION OVER THE SPANISH SAHARA WERE FIRED ON BY MOROCCAN TROOPS

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WITH ANTI-AIRCRAFT MACHINE GUNS. A SPANISH ARMY UNIT REPORTEDLY ENGAGED THE MOROCCAN TROOPS IN AN EXCHANGE OF MORTAR FIRE UNTIL THE MOROCCANS WITHDREW. NO SPANISH CASUALTIES WERE REPORTED, BUT THE SPANISH AIRCRAFT MAY HAVE BEEN HIT.4

DESPITE MOROCCAN PROTESTATIONS THAT SAHARAN INSURGENTS WERE RESPONSIBLE, MADRID WILL BLAME RABAT AND MAY NOW SHOW LESS CONCERN ABOUT MOROCCAN INTERESTS IN THE SAHARA. THE INCIDENTS MAY ALSO INCREASE SPAIN'S DESIRE TO WITHDRAW FROM THE TERRITORY.
 {CONFIDENTIAL}4

5. BAHRAIN: ONE JUNE 23, BAHRAIN'S RULER, EMIR ISA, ABRUPTLY RECESSED THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY UNTIL OCTOBER. THE RECESS DECREE--COMING EIGHT MONTHS AFTER THE OPENING OF THE SESSION AND AS SOON AS IT WAS CONSTITUTIONALLY PERMISSIBLE--WAS APPARENTLY ISSUED BECAUSE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ANNOYANCE OVER HAVING FAILED TO GET THE LEGISLATORS TO AGREE TO AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE ON A CONTROVERSIAL SECURITY MEASURE. THE SECURITY MEASURE IMBROGLIO IS ONLY THE LATEST EPISODE IN THE CONTEST THE LEGISLATURE HAS BEEN WAGING TO EXPAND ITS POLITICAL INFLUENCE AT THE

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LAST OCTOBER, BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE ASSEMBLY, EMIR ISA PROMULGATED THE SECURITY MEASURE. EMIRI DECREES HAVE THE FORCE OF LAW IF ISSUED WHEN THE LEGISLATURE IS NOT IN SESSION; THEY REMAIN IN FORCE UNTIL THE LEGISLATURE ACTS ON THEM. ALTHOUGH THE NEW SECURITY MEASURE REPLACED A MUCH TOUGHER 1965 LAW WHICH HAD BEEN USED TO ROUND UP AND DETAIN 27 LEFTIST AGITATORS EARLIER IN 1974, IT WAS STRONGLY OPPOSED BY THE SMALL BAND OF ASSEMBLY LEFTISTS. BY MAY, OPPONENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAD PRIED THE SECURITY MEASURE OUT OF COMMITTEE WITH A "DO NOT PASS" RECOMMENDATION. THE GOVERNMENT DECIDED NOT TO RISK A VOTE IN THE 44-MEMBER ASSEMBLY, EVEN THOUGH IT CONTROLS THE VOTES OF THE 14 MEMBERS IT APPOINTS, AND WOULD ONLY HAVE NEEDED 9 OF THE 30 ELECTED MEMBERS TO KEEP THE SECURITY DECREE FROM BEING DEFEATED.4

ALTHOUGH THE LEFTISTS DID NOT ACCOMPLISH THE DEFEBAT OF THE SECURITY MEASURE, THEY CLEARLY OUTPOINTED THE GOVERNMENT. THE GOVERNMENT'S INSISTENCE ON SECRET SESSIONS, AND THE EMIR'S RECESS OF THE ASSEMBLY BEFORE MOST MEMBERS WISHED TO ADJOURN,

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MAKE IT LOOK ARBITRARY IN THE PUBLIC EYE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GOVERNMENT NOW HAS A FOUR MONTH RESPITE IN WHICH TO LINE UP SUPPORT QUIETLY AMONG THE LEGISLATORS FOR AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE SECURITY MEASURE BY THE TIME THE ASSEMBLY RECONVENES IN OCTOBER. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

6. DAHOMEY: PRESIDENT KEREKOU, WHO NARROWLY WEATHERED A COUP ATTEMPT LAST JANUARY, IS BEING BUNFFETED BY ANOTHER POLITICAL STORM THAT COULD RESULT IN HIS OUSTER.4

LAST FRIDAY, ONE OF KEREKOU'S CHIEF RIVALS, INTERIOR MINISTER AIKPE, WAS SHOT BY PRESIDENTIAL GUARDS WHO ~~RECEIVED~~ ALLEGEDLY FOUND HIM IN "FLAGRANTE DELICTO" WITH THE PRESIDENT'S WIFE. THE PUBLIC HAS REACTED ANGRILY TO THE GOVERNMENT'S EXPLANATION OF AIKPE'S DEATH; MOST DAHOMEANS BELIEVE HE WAS DELIBERATELY MURDERED FOR POLITICAL REASONS. KEREKOU IS BRACING HIMSELF AGAINST DAHOMEY'S AROUSED CITIZENRY WHO ARE TIRED OF THE LEFTIST REGIME'S STRONG ARM TACTICS AND THE "REVOLUTIONARY" PROGRAM IT HAS TRIED TO IMPOSE. THEY ALSO RESENT KEREKOU'S BODYGUARD PROVIDED BY GUINEAN

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PRESIDENT TOURE.4

FOLLOWING THE NEWS OF AKIPE'S DEATH, CROWDS RAMPAGED IN
COTONOU AND OTHER TOWNS., THEY FREED SOME PROMINENT POLITICAL DE-
TAINÉES ,ND CLASHED WITH SECURITY FORCES WHO SHOT BACK KILLING
AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF PERSONS. THE COUNTRY'S STRONG TEACHERS
UNION

THE GOVERNMENT HAS COUNTERED BY IMPOSING A COUNTRYWIDE CURFEW,
AND ORDERING TROOPS TO SHOOT AT ANYONE
SUSPICIOUS. Y

KEREKOU HAS BEEN IN A WEAK POSITION SINCE LAST JANUARY'S UNSUCCESSFUL COUP ATTEMPT BY A MODERATE CABINET MINISTER WHICH LEFT THE PRESIDENT MORE VULNERABLE TO MANEUVERING BY HIS RADICAL COLLEAGUES. AIKPE, ONE OF THE REGIME'S LEADING RADICALS AND A KEY OFFICER BEHIND THE MILITARY COUP THAT BROUGHT KEREKOU TO POWER IN OCTOBER 1972, IS KNOWN TO HAVE HARBORED AMBITIONS TO REPLACE KEREKOU. IT IS UNCLEAR, HOWEVER, IF HE WAS CLOSE TO MAKING A BID FOR POWER WHEN HE WAS KILLED."

THE STRONGEST FIGURE IN THE GOVERNMENT MAY NOW BE THE

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RADICAL INFORMATION MINISTER, LIEUTENANT MARTIN AZONHIHO, WHO
 HAS BEEN NAMED INTERIM INTERIOR MINISTER IN ADDITION TO HIS
 PRESENT POST. HE COULD TRY TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE PRESENT TUR-
 MOIL AND CHALLENGE KEREKOU IN THE DAYS AHEAD. DAHOMEY HAS EX-
 PERIENCED SIX MILITARY COUPS AND THREE CIVILIAN CHANGES OF GOVERN-
 MENT SINCE INDEPENDENCE IN 1960. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET.H

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EUROPEAN BRIEF 099-75.4

1. USSR: IN TIME OF WAR, SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV WILL BECOME THE SUPREME COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES, ACCORDING TO A SOVIET MILITARY OFFICER ON [REDACTED]

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THE OFFICER RECENTLY SAID THAT DEFENSE MINISTER GRECHKO IS NOW COMMANDER IN CHIEF AND WOULD REMAIN SO AS LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT AT WAR. HE WENT ON TO STATE, HOWEVER, THAT IN THE EVENT OF WAR BREZHNEV WOULD FOLLOW STALIN'S EXAMPLE AND ASSUME COMMAND OF THE ARMED FORCES, BECOMING CHAIRMAN OF THE STAVKA (THE WARTIME ORGANIZATION OF MILITARY AND POLITICAL LEADERS WHICH CONSTITUTES THE SUPREME HIGH COMMAND).4

THIS NEW INFORMATION IS CONSISTENT WITH REPORTS PROVIDED BY HIGH-RANKING SOVIET OFFICERS IN THE MID-60S, SHORTLY AFTER KHRUSHCHEV'S OUSTER, WHEN BREZHNEV WAS IDENTIFIED AS THE WARTIME COMMANDER. IN 1966 AND 1967,

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RELEASING OFFICER

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010002-7

COORDINATING OFFICER

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION

REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN THE ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED

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HOWEVER, A SERIES OF ARTICLES APPEARED IN BOTH CLASSIFIED AND OPEN-SOURCE SOVIET MILITARY PUBLICATIONS THAT SEEMED TO CONFLICT WITH THIS DESCRIPTION OF BREZHNEV'S WARTIME ROLE. THE ARTICLES REFLECTED THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND'S CONCERN ABOUT THE TIMELY PROVISION FOR COMMAND AUTHORITY IN THE EVENT OF EMERGENCY. THE MILITARY APPARENTLY WANTED A PREDESIGNATED SUPREME COMMAND IN CHIEF TO WHOM THEY COULD TURN AS A SOURCE OF POLITICAL-MILITARY AUTHORITY IN EMERGENCIES, AND EXPRESSED THE NEED FOR AN INSTITUTIONALIZED SUPREME COMMAND IN PEACETIME, CAPABLE OF TIMELY RESPONSE IN MILITARY CRISIS SITUATIONS. BREZHNEV, HOWEVER, WAS EMPHASIZING COLLECTIVITY IN LEADERSHIP MATTERS, AS HE STILL DOES TO SOME DEGREE. UNLIKE KHRUSHCHEV AND STALIN BEFORE HIM, BREZHNEV SEEMED TO SHUN PUBLIC IDENTIFICATION AS "SUPREME COMMAND IN CHIEF." IN FACT, A REMARK IDENTIFYING THE GENERAL SECRETARY AS SUPREME COMMANDER IN CHIEF DESIGNATE IN THE 1963 AND

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1964 EDITION OF SOKOLOVSKIY'S MILITARY STRATEGY WAS DELETED FROM THE 1968 EDITION. THE CONSISTENT IDENTIFICATION OF BREZHNEV AS SUPREME COMMANDER IN CHIEF ONLY IN WARTIME, EVEN NOW, WHEN BREZHNEV IS CLEARLY IN A POSITION OF POLITICAL PRE-EMINENCE, CONTINUES TO HIGHLIGHT THE POLITICAL SENSITIVITY OF THE POSITION.4

THE NEW CLARIFICATION BY THE SOVIET OFFICER INDICATES THAT BREZHNEV IS INDEED REGARDED AS THE WARTIME COMMANDER, AND THE CONSISTENCY OF THE NEW EXPLANATION WITH EARLIER INFORMATION INDICATES THAT BREZHNEV HAS BEEN SO DESIGNATED SINCE AT LEAST 1965. APPARENTLY THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF THE CONTROVERSY IN 1966-1967 WAS NOT THE NEED FOR A SUPREME COMMANDER IN CHIEF, BUT RATHER THE NEED FOR AN INSTITUTIONALIZED SUPREME COMMAND EVEN IN PEACETIME.4

THE CONTROVERSY SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN RESOLVED BY OCTOBER 1967, WHEN GRECHKO PUBLISHED AN ARTICLE STATING THAT ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS WERE BEING

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DEALT WITH ALONG LINES ESTABLISHED BY LENIN AND
BASED ON THE SOVIETS' WORLD WAR II EXPERIENCE. THE
SOVIET SCC OFFICER'S REFERENCE TO THE STAVKA IS ONE
OF MANY FROM A VARIETY OF SOURCES WHICH HAVE APPEARED
IN THIS CONTEXT SINCE 1967. THIS MAY INDICATE THAT
A STAVKA-LIKE SUPREME COMMAND WAS FORMALLY ESTABLISHED
BY LATE 1967. {SECRET}4

2. USSR: THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CPSU
CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS UNDERGONE SOME CHANGES IN LEADERSHIP.
A NEW DEPUTY CHIEF HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED, AND THERE ARE
INDICATIONS THAT THE DEPARTMENT HAS A NEW FIRST DEPUTY
CHIEF AS WELL.4

THE NEW DEPUTY CHIEF, VADIM PETROVICH RUMYANTSEV,
WAS IDENTIFIED IN PRAVDA {JUNE 21, 1975} WHEN HE AND HIS
BOSS, POLITBURO MEMBER BORIS PONOMAREV, TRAVELED TO SYRIA.
RUMYANTSEV, AGE 50, SERVED AS AN ATTACHE IN DAMASCUS FROM
1951 TO 1957. RECALLED TO MOSCOW IN 1957 TO WORK IN THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE APPARATUS, HE WAS FIRST PUBLICLY IDENTIFIED

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AS A "RESPONSIBLE WORKER" THERE IN 1963.

THE DEPARTMENT MAY NOW HAVE VADIM VALENTINOVICH ZAGLADIN AS FIRST DEPUTY CHIEF. ZAGLADIN HAS WORKED AS A DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE DEPARTMENT SINCE AT LEAST 1967. THIS MONTH HE WAS ELECTED A DEPUTY TO THE RSFSR SUPREME SOVIET, A DISTINCTION USUALLY RESERVED FOR NO LOWER RANKS THAN CHIEFS OR FIRST DEPUTY CHIEFS FROM CENTRAL COMMITTEE DEPARTMENTS. BEFORE BECOMING A DEPUTY CHIEF, ZAGLADIN SERVED AS A LECTURER IN THE DEPARTMENT AND LEADER OF A GROUP OF CONSULTANTS THERE, PROBABLY OUTSIDE SCHOLARS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXPERTS.

THERE IS NO OBVIOUS REASON FOR THE APPARENT REPLACEMENT OF THE MAN IDENTIFIED PREVIOUSLY AS FIRST DEPUTY, YELIZAR ILICH KUSKOV. HE HAS NOT BEEN HEARD FROM SINCE NOVEMBER OF LAST YEAR--AN UNUSUAL CIRCUMSTANCE BECAUSE ALL THE OTHER DEPUTY CHIEFS HAVE MADE FREQUENT APPEARANCES. {CONFIDENTIAL}

3. CZECHOSLOVAKIA: THE NAMING OF ULTRA CONSERVATIVE VILIAM SALGOVIC TO THE PRESIDUM POLITBURO OF THE SLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY STRENGTHENS THE CONSERVATIVES' HOLD ON THE

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WAKE OF THE INVASION LED TO HIS DISMISSAL FROM THE INTERIOR
MINISTRY.4

ALONG WITH NUMEROUS OTHER ULTRA CONSERVATIVES, SALGOVIC
BEGAN TO RE-ENTER THE POLITICAL ARENA UNDER HUSAK'S POLICY
OF "NORMALIZATION." SINCE 1970, HE WAS SERVED AS CHAIRMAN
OF THE SLOVAK PARTY'S CONTROL AND AUDITING COMMISSION AND
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL PARTY'S CENTRAL CONTROL AND
AUDITING COMMISSION. SALGOVIC IS NOW EXPECTED TO RELINQUISH
THESE POSITIONS.4 {CONFIDENTIAL}44

4. BULGARIA: LYUDMILA ZHIVKOVA, DAUGHTER OF BULGARIAN LEADER
TODOR ZHIVKOV, WAS NAMED ON JUNE 26, TO HEAD THE COMMITTEE FOR
ART AND CULTURE, WHICH IS ATTACHED TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.
SHE RECENTLY HAS BEEN ASSUMING A MORE PROMINENT ROLE IN
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS, AND HER NEW POSITION--WHICH CARRIES MIN-
ISTERIAL RANK-- WILL INCREASE HER PRESTIGE.4

ZHIVKOVA, FORMERLY A FIRST DEPUTY MINISTER OF ART AND
CULTURE, REPLACES PAVEL MATEV, WHO WAS SHIFTED TO THE
DEPARTMENT FOR ART AND CULTURE AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. HER

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MEMBERS LAST JUNE BUT ONLY RATIFIED BY ROMANIA ON MAY 30, ARE
INTENDED TO STRENGTHEN CEMA'S AUTHORITY OVER ITS MEMBERS.
ROMANIA APPARENTLY PUT OFF RATIFICATION AS LONG AS IT REASONABLY
COULD.4

THE MODIFIED STATUTES REFER BOTH TO "SOCIALIST ECONOMIC
INTEGRATION"--OPPOSED BY BUCHAREST--AND TO THE "GRADUAL
EQUALIZATION OF LEVELS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT," WHICH ROMANIA
FAVORS. THE ROMANIANS ARE NOW TRYING TO USE THE NEW LANGUAGE TO
BUTTRESS THEIR POSITION THAT EQUALIZATION OF DEVELOPMENT LEVELS
MUST BE A PREREQUISITE FOR MOVEMENT TOWARD INTEGRATION.4

THIS BECAME CLEARER IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH VASILE
DOREANU, A ROMANIAN TRADE OFFICIAL, WHO TRIED TO PLAY DOWN THE
"PRACTICAL" SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STATUTES. HE CLAIMED THAT
NEITHER THE RATIFICATION OF THE STATUTES NOR BUCHAREST'S
SIGNING OF THE CEMA "COMPLEX PROGRAM" REPRESENTED A CHANGE
IN ROMANIA'S BASIC OPPOSITION TO GRANTING SUPRANATIONAL
AUTHORITY TO CEMA ORGANS. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

6. YUGOSLAVIA: BELGRADE WILL PROBABLY SEND A DELEGATION

DATE: 10/10/86
ORIG: 10/10/86
UNIT: 10/10/86
EXT: 10/10/86

CLASSIFICATION

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010002-7
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COORDINATING OFFICER

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TO THE NEXT SESSION OF THE COMMISSION CHARGED WITH DRAFTING A FINAL DOCUMENT FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE. A NEW SHOW OF SOVIET FLEXIBILITY HAS PROMPTED THE YUGOSLAVS TO DECIDE, ALL, TO ATTEND THE WORKING GROUP NOW SLATED TO BE HELD IN EAST BERLIN NEXT WEEK.4

ALTHOUGH MOSCOW HAS BEEN SUFFICIENTLY FLEXIBLE TO KEEP PREPARATIONS FOR THE FORMAL MEETING MOVING AHEAD, THE YUGOSLAVS AND OTHER INDEPENDENT PARTIES HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE REAL INTENTIONS OF THE SOVIET PARTY. THEY KNOW THAT WHATEVER MOSCOW'S PRESENT TACTICS ARE, THE KREMLIN WILL TRY TO USE THE FORMAL CONFERENCE TO BIND ALL PARTICIPANTS TO A FINAL DOCUMENT REFLECTING SOVIET POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES. EVEN IF IT IS PRESENT AT THE NEXT DRAFTING SESSION, A YUGOSLAV DELEGATION COULD DECIDE NOT TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE ITSELF.4

BELGRADE AND BUCHAREST STILL SEE EYE-TO-EYE ON RESISTING SOVIET AIMS. WHILE ROMANIA WILL PROBABLY ATTEND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE, IT WILL PROBABLY NOT SIGN THE FINAL DOCUMENT. BUCHAREST REFUSED TO SIGN SEVERAL DOCUMENTS AT THE INTERNATIONAL

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COMMUNIST CONFERENCE HELD IN MOSCOW IN JUNE 1969. {CONFIDENTIAL}

E-2 IMPDET.H

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DATE: JUNE 27, 1975
ORIG: [REDACTED]
UNIT: OCI/FLO
EXT: 9498

25X1A

OUTGOING MESSAGE

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010002-7

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EAST ASIA BRIEF 095-75.4

1. //THAILAND: TENSION IS BUILDING IN BANGKOK OVER PLANS BY THE NATIONAL STUDENT CENTER OF THAILAND TO STAGE ANTI-US DEMONSTRATIONS ON JULY 4. THAI POLICE ESTIMATE THAT 5,000 TO 10,000 DEMONSTRATORS MAY ASSEMBLE IN FRONT OF THE US EMBASSY, BUT EVEN IF THE ORGANIZERS CAN NOT TURN OUT SUCH NUMBERS, THERE IS A POTENTIAL FOR SERIOUS TROUBLE.//4

//THAI MILITARY AND POLICE OFFICIALS WERE UPSET OVER STUDENT DESTRUCTION OF THE US EMBASSY SEAL DURING PROTESTS OVER THE MAYAGUEZ AFFAIR LAST MONTH, AND THEY HAVE PROMISED US OFFICIALS THAT SUCH ACTION WILL NOT HAPPEN AGAIN. ARMY COMMANDER KRIT SIWARA, WHOSE POLITICAL AMBITIONS HAVE UNTIL NOW KEPT HIM FROM SPEAKING OUT IN PUBLIC AGAINST STUDENT ACTIVISM, CRITICIZED THE PROPOSED ANTI-US DEMONSTRATIONS DURING A PRESS CONFERENCE ON JUNE 24. KRIT SAID THEY WOULD CREATE UNNECESSARY MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN THAILAND AND THE US.//4

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//LAST MONTH, PRIME MINISTER KHUKRIT ASSURED KRIT AND OTHER KEY GENERALS THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO GET TOUGH WITH STUDENT AGITATORS, IF THEY THREATENED THE PHYSICAL SECURITY OF THE US EMBASSY ON JULY 4. KHUKRIT IS NOW SCHEDULED TO BE IN CHINA NEXT WEEK AND TO REMAIN THROUGH JULY 4.//4

//ALTHOUGH HIS TRIP MAY DEFLECT PUBLIC ATTENTION FROM THE PLANNED DEMONSTRATION, THERE IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE SITUATION WILL GET OUT OF HAND IN HIS ABSENCE. STUDENT PLANNERS, WHILE CLAIMING THE DEMONSTRATIONS WILL BE PEACEFUL, ARE QUOTED IN THE THAI PRESS TO THE EFFECT THAT THEY WILL MEET VIOLENCE WITH VIOLENCE.//4

//ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE ANXIOUS TO AVOID ANY
EMBARRASSING INCIDENTS AT HOME WHILE KHUKRIT IS IN PEKING,
SOME SECURITY OFFICIALS MAY BE QUITE PREPARED TO CRACK DOWN
ON LEFTIST AGITATORS IF THEY BECOME UNRULY. {CONFIDENTIAL}//H
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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 099-75.4

LATIN AMERICA: HIGH OFFICIALS FROM ALL 24 COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES MET IN HAVANA FROM JUNE 9 TO 13 TO DRAW UP A PLAN OF ACTION AIMED AT THE ELIMINATION OF US INFLUENCE SOUTH OF THE RIO GRANDE. THE PLAN, EMBODIED IN A DECLARATION RELEASED THREE DAYS AFTER THE CONFERENCE CLOSED, IS INTENDED TO SERVE AS A GUIDELINE FOR ALL LEFTISTS, NOT JUST COMMUNISTS.

ALTHOUGH THE MEETING WAS UNQUESTIONABLY THE HIGH POINT IN THE CUBAN COMMUNIST PARTY'S RELATIONS WITH ITS HEMISPHERIC COUNTERPARTS, IT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY FALL FAR SHORT OF ITS GRANDIOSE GOAL OF UNIFYING THE LATIN AMERICAN LEFT INTO A SOLID ANTI-US FRONT.

VERY FEW LATIN LEFTISTS ARE LIKELY TO BE WILLING TO ADOPT A PLAN OF ACTION FORMULATED AT A MEETING IN WHICH THEY HAD NO REPRESENTATION. ANY UNITY ACHIEVED AT THE MEETING IS LIKELY TO BE ONLY A THIN VENEER OF DUBIOUS DURABILITY.

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THE MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATION, FOR EXAMPLE, HAD HARDLY REACHED HOME BEFORE IT DISOWNED THE PORTION OF THE DECLARATION THAT CRITICIZED PEKING'S FOREIGN POLICY.

THE MEETING DID PROVIDE CONSIDERABLE EVIDENCE THAT THE CASTRO REGIME IS FOLLOWING MORE CLOSELY THAN EVER A FOREIGN POLICY ALIGNED WITH THE USSR. THE CUBANS SIGNED A DOCUMENT THAT CONDEMNED THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS BY NAME AND SERVED AS HOST FOR A MEETING THAT COULD TURN OUT TO BE A PREPARATORY STEP TO A WORLD CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES, WHICH MOSCOW HOPES TO USE AGAINST PEKING.

FIDEL CASTRO PERSONALLY CRITICIZED THE CHINESE DURING A PRESS CONFERENCE LAST WEEK AND PRAISED THE DECLARATION'S ATTACK ON PEKING. MOREOVER, IN SIGNING A DECLARATION THAT TACITLY ACCEPTS THE VALIDITY OF THE SOVIETS' VIEW THAT VIOLENCE IS NOT ALWAYS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE POWER, THE CUBANS HAVE GONE ON RECORD AS ABANDONING CHE GUEVARA'S CONCEPT OF VIOLENT REVOLUTION.

THE CUBANS ALSO GAVE WAY TO MOSCOW ON THE NATURE OF

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THE CONFERENCE. STILL WARY OF THE DUPLICITY OF MANY LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST LEADERS, HAVANA HAD WANTED TO INVITE A BROADER RANGE OF PARTICIPANTS. THE CUBANS APPARENTLY HAD IN MIND SOMETHING AKIN TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION HELD IN HAVANA IN 1967.

THEY WERE RELUCTANT TO INVITE SOME PARTIES WHOSE ATTENDANCE MIGHT PROVE AN EMBARRASSMENT TO THE CASTRO REGIME--THE GUYANA COMMUNISTS, FOR EXAMPLE. THE GUYANESE DID ATTEND THE CUBAN CONCLAVE, WHICH WAS RESTRICTED TO RECOGNIZED, PRO-MOSCOW COMMUNIST PARTIES.

THE CUBANS WERE NOT THE ONLY ONES TO COMPROMISE. THE HIGH PRAISE ACCORDED CASTRO MUST HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT FOR THOSE PARTY CHIEFS WHO HAD AT ONE TIME BEEN DENOUNCED BY HIM IN SCATHING TERMS. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-ZIMPDET.H

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